

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 PM-03 IO-03 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 NSC-10 NSCE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 L-02

SPC-01 PRS-01 DRC-01 /068 W

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R 121246Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8671

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 16345

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: GW, GE, WB, PFOR

SUBJECT: BAHR-KOHL MEETING, NOVEMBER 8: PRELIMINARY

ACCOUNT

REF: BONN 15497

1. SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO FRG CHANCELLERY SOURCE, NOVEMBER 8 BAHR-KOHL MEETING IN EAST BERLIN WAS WITHOUT ANY POSITIVE RESULTS. KOHL TOOK STANDARD HARD LINE ON ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. KOHL HANDED BAHR A GDR REQUEST FOR AGREEMENT TO KOHL'S APPOINTMENT AS "MINISTER AND AMBASSADOR EXTRA-ORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY" IN BONN AT OUTSET OF THE MEETING. BAHR SAID THIS WAS PREMATURE SINCE THERE WAS AS YET NO AGREEMENT ON THE STATUS AND MODALITIES OF THE TWO SIDES' PERMANENT MISSIONS. (FYI: BAHR
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WAS DISMAYED TO FIND THAT EAST GERMANS HAD ISSUED A

PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING KOHL'S AGREEMENT REQUEST WHILE THE MEETING WAS GOING ON. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THEREFORE USED OCCASION OF GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN'S NOVEMBER 9 PRESS CONFERENCE TO SHOOT DOWN GDR PROPOSAL TO HAVE KOHL ACCREDITED AS "AMBASSADOR" WHICH, IT WAS NOTED, WOULD BE PROCEDURE FOR REPRESENTATIVE OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY. END FYI.)

3. CONCERNING THE MATTER OF THE PERMANENT MISSIONS, KOHL STUCK TO THE STANDARD GDR LINE ABOUT MISSIONS DEALING WITH THE RESPECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTRIES. HE PROPOSED WORDING FOR SOME PROTOCOL NOTES WHICH COULD COVER THE VARIOUS MODALITIES FOR ACCREDITATION AND WORKING ARRANGEMENTS. BAHR REPORTEDLY REJECTED KOHL'S ENTIRE APPROACH.

4. BAHR MADE A SHARP ATTACK ON RECENT GDR MOVES AFFECTING WEST BERLIN AND THE FRG, NOTABLY THE EAST GERMAN DOUBLING OF CURRENCY EXCHANGE REQUIREMENTS FOR GERMAN VISITORS. OUR SOURCE WAS UNAWARE OF KOHL'S PRECISE REACTION BUT UNDERSTOOD THAT KOHL HAD BEEN INFLEXIBLE. (FYI: OUR SOURCE SAID BAHR WAS UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT ANY DEMARCHE ON THIS TOPIC WOULD HAVE MUCH IMPACT BUT FELT HE HAD TO DO IT FOR THE RECORD. BAHR'S SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS (STATE 221887) REFLECTED HIS FEELING THAT THE FRG WAS IN A WEAK POSITION IN THIS AREA OF DISCUSSION. END FYI.)

5. KOHL TURNED TO FUTURE PARTICIPATION IN THE FRG-GDR TALKS, REFERRING TO BAHR'S INTENTION TO HAND THE FRG REPRESENTATION OVER TO STATE SECRETARY GAUS FOLLOWING THE NOVEMBER 8 MEETING (REFTEL). KOHL SAID HE TOO WOULD BE GIVING UP HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS AND THAT GDR FONOFF REP SEIDEL WOULD SUCCEED HIM.

6. BAHR RAISED MATTER OF CHANCELLOR BRANDT'S FLYING IN LUFTWAFFE AIRCRAFT TO WEST BERLIN OVER GDR TERRITORY. NOTING THAT ALLIES HAD NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO THE AIRCRAFT'S LANDING IN WEST BERLIN,
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HE ASKED IF GDR WOULD GRANT OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS. KOHL SAID ONLY THAT GDR WOULD CONSIDER THE MATTER. (FYI: OUR SOURCE SAID THIS ISSUE WAS ONE THAT BAHR AND BAHR ALONE WAS CONCERNED WITH. NOBODY ON THE FRG SIDE EXPECTS THE GDR TO BE FORTHCOMING ON OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY NOT IN THE PRESENT ATMOSPHERE. END FYI.)

7. OUR CHANCELLERY SOURCE SAID THAT THE

PRESENT CHILL IN FRG-GDR RELATIONS SEEMED LIKELY TO CONTINUE FOR MONTHS TO COME. THE ONLY PROSPECT FOR EVEN LIMITED IMPROVEMENT LAY IN THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE GDR WOULD NOT WISH TO BE TOO MUCH AT VARIANCE WITH ITS WARSAW PACT ALLIES IN ITS TREATMENT OF THE FRG. WITH ALL THE EES NOW SEEMINGLY ABLE TO HAVE AND SEEKING A MORE NORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH BONN, THE GDR

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MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BE THE ODD MAN OUT. OUR SOURCE SAID HE THOUGHT THE SOVIETS TOO WOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO ALLOW THE GDR TO GO SO FAR AS TO UPSET THE CHANCES FOR POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

8. IN THIS CONNECTION, OUR SOURCE SAID THE GDR MAY ALREADY HAVE BEEN TRYING TO MAKE SOME POINTS WITH THE SOVIETS AND EES BY PUBLICIZING THE KOHL AGREEMENT PROPOSAL. THE EAST GERMANS KNEW THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD

BE REJECTED BUT COULD NONETHELESS CLAIM THAT THEY
WERE TRYING TO KEEP THINGS MOVING FOR THEIR PART.

9. FINALLY, OUR CONTACT COMMENTED THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT SURE HOW TO RESPOND TO THE GDR'S NAMING SEIDEL AS ITS REPRESENTATIVE IN FUTURE FRG-GDR TALKS. SEIDEL IS LOWER RANKING THAN GAUS AND THE FRG FEELS THIS MAY SUGGEST A LOWERING OF GDR INTEREST GNERALLY IN THE DIALOGUE. ON THE OTHER HAND, SEIDEL

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IS, IN THE FRG VIEW, THE MOST ABLE AND LEAST DIFFICULT OF THE EAST GERMAN NEGOTIATORS. THE THOUGHT IN THE CHANCELLERY IS THAT THE GDR MAY BE PREPARED TO REVERT TO THE FORMER WORKING-LEVEL TALKS BETWEEN FRG CHANCELLERY REPSANNE AND SEIDEL IN AN EFFORT TO MAKE THE TALKS LESS ATTENTION-GETTING PUBLICLY BUT STILL TO MAKE RESOLUTION OF SOME CONTENTIOUS ISSUES POSSIBLE.

10. OUR OWN VIEW OF THE INNER-GERMAN RELATIONSHIP, ONE YEAR AFTER THE INITIALING OF THE BASIC RELATIONS TREATY, IS THAT VERY LITTLE FLESH HAS BEEN ADDED SO FAR TO THE ORIGINAL SKELETON CREATED BY BAHR AND KOHL. THE GDR VERY LIKELY IS NOT INTERESTED IN ADDING MUCH: WHAT LITTLE THERE HAS BEEN PROBABLY HAS RESULTED MORE FROM SOVIET AND GENERAL EE DETENTE PRESSURES THAN FROM ANYTHING ELSE. WE ASSUME THAT, IF THE PRESENT EAST-WEST ATMOSPHERE CONTINUES, THE GDR WILL CONTINUE TO COME UNDER PRESSURE NOT TO APPEAR TOO NEGATIVE TOWARD THE FRG. BUT ANY STEPS IT TAKES WILL BE DONE RELUCTANTLY AND IN AS LIMITED A FORM AS POSSIBLE. ALL OF THIS SUGGESTS, AND THIS IS A VIEW SHARED WIDELY AT THE WORKING LEVEL IN THE CHANCELLERY, THAT FRG-GDR RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE DIFFICULT AND FULL OF PROBLEMS AND MINOR CRISES IN THE YEARS AHEAD. THE PROSPECT FOR ANY REAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE TWO STATES' TIES SEEM DISTINCTLY LIMITED.

11. BAHR HIMSELF APPEARS TO REALIZE THIS LIKELY STATE OF AFFAIRS. HE HAS ALWAYS SAID THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP WOULD BE HARD, BUT HE PROBABLY NEVER REALLY UNDERSTOOD JUST HOW HARD. HE IS REPORTED TO BE EXTREMELY DEPRESSED AT PRESENT AND UNCERTAIN ABOUT HIS FUTURE IN THE CHANCELLERY. HIS FUNCTIONS ARE NOW REDUCED TO A MINIMUM AND HIS INFLUENCE ON POLICYMAKING INCREASINGLY DIMINISHED. HE IS ALSO UNDER CONSTANT AND BITTER ATTACK FROM THE OPPOSITION AND IS SAID TO FEEL THAT HE IS A BURDEN TO THE CHANCELLOR.

12. WHILE IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO MAKE CLEAR PREDICTIONS, OUR VIEW IS THAT THE BAHR PHASE OF OSTPOLITIK-
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MAKING AND EXECUTION IS PROBABLY OVER. SINCE THERE ARE FEW OTHER CONQUERABLE FIELDS OPEN TO HIM, WE MAY NOW BE WITNESSING THE END OF BAHR AS A POLITICAL FORCE IN

THE GERMAN CHANCELLERY. HE DOES, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO HAVE HIS CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH BRANDT, DATING BACK TO THEIR DAYS TOGETHER IN BERLIN. BUT EVEN THIS RELATIONSHIP IS SAID BY SOME TO HAVE BECOME SOMEWHAT SHAKY IN RECENT MONTHS.

HILLENBRAND

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